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of Oehler's *Symbolik*.<sup>1</sup> He lies buried in the Evangelic church-yard in Genoa. His brother, Ernst, had already died January 17, 1872; he had served as assistant surgeon in the Franco-German war from its beginning to its end. Not until a long time after the conclusion of peace could he return. After a long illness, he succumbed from an acute pulmonary attack. His grave is in Leipzig. My two youngest sons are still alive. The older of them, Hermann, has an appointment with the general German Credit-bank; and the youngest, Friedrich (born September 3, 1850), *professor extraordinarius* of Assyriology,<sup>2</sup> is at present at the British Museum in London, where he continues his studies in the preparation of a Babylonian-Assyrian dictionary.

"I completed my seventieth year February 23. Although I dislike ovations of every kind, I was made more of than I could almost bear. But also many blessings have been showered upon me, especially from missionary societies abroad; and those blessings sound as sweet in my ears, as the lullaby sounds to the child, when it is lulled to sleep."

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## AMERICAN EXPLORERS IN PALESTINE.

BY PROFESSOR E. C. MITCHELL, D. D.,

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The historical method has come to be generally accepted as essential to a true science of interpretation. To know what writers mean, we must know who they were and what were the circumstances and conditions under which they wrote.

It is equally true that historical inquiry, to be thorough and trustworthy, must be based upon some geographical knowledge. To comprehend events we must have some idea of localities. To appreciate actions we must accurately conceive of the situation. To estimate character, motives, methods of thought, habits of expression, we must know the surroundings.

□ This general principle is especially applicable to the science of biblical interpretation. So large a part of Sacred Scripture is in its nature historical, and so much of this history is dependent upon geographical conditions, that a prime requisite for obtaining any just idea of the sense is to know the place and the

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<sup>1</sup> He published, in addition, "*De inspiratione Scripturae Sacrae quid statuerint patres apostolici et apologetae secundi saeculi*," by which writing he qualified, in 1872, as a university teacher. But he died before he could finish his work on the Doctrinal System of the Roman Catholic church ("*Das Lehrsystem der römischen Kirche*," vol. I., 1875).

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Delitzsch, to whom, as far as I know, all the present professors of Assyrian in the universities of the United States are indebted as a teacher, was elected, in 1885, *professor ordinarius honorarius* of Assyriology and of the Semitic languages in the University of Leipzig. The next result of his investigations in London, which lasted from March to October, 1883, was a series of articles which appeared in the *Athenæum* under the title "The importance of Assyriology to Hebrew lexicography," afterwards published in pamphlet-form as "The Hebrew language viewed in the light of Assyrian research" (London: Williams & Norgate, 1883) and "*Die Sprache der Kossäer*" (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1884). According to the statement given on p. 24 in the latter work, the above mentioned dictionary has now been finished for more than two years. We are, therefore, entitled to hope that Friedrich Delitzsch, having issued in the mean time the third edition of his "*Assyrische Lesestücke*" (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1885), and his "*Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament*" (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1886) will this year begin the publication of his often promised and long expected Assyrian dictionary.

time. Indeed the very language itself, especially of the Old Testament, has largely an historico-geographical origin. The phraseology and imagery, especially the poetical conceptions of the writers, are derived from peculiarities of physical features in sacred lands, or from historical incidents in the lives of their inhabitants.

To lay a sure substructure for the biblical interpreter, therefore, the first step is thorough topographical investigation.

This truth has been recognized more or less distinctly by all the earlier Palestine travelers, although anything like scientific research must date its beginnings in the present century. Seetzen, Burckhardt and Irby and Mangles did something to awaken a spirit of inquiry and experiment upon the work. It was reserved for an American to inaugurate upon a scientific basis a system of exploration, the fruits of which are now enriching our literature and preparing the way for definite and accurate scriptural knowledge.

"Scientific exploration,"—say the eminent British engineers Charles Warren and Claude R. Conder, in their recently published *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 87,—“dates from the first visit of Dr. Robinson in 1838,” and in the official history of the work of the London Society in 1873 it is said that “the first real impulse, because the first successful impulse, toward scientific examination of the Holy Land is due to the American traveler Dr. Robinson. He it was who first conceived the idea of making a work on biblical geography, to be based, not on the accounts of others, but on his own observations and discoveries. He fitted himself for his ambitious undertaking by the special studies of fifteen years, mastering the whole literature of the subject, and, above all, clearing the way for his own researches by noticing the deficiencies and weak points of his predecessors. He went, therefore, *knowing what to look for* and what had already been found”. . . “Dr. Robinson seems first to have recognized that most important aid to biblical identification, the modern Arabic names, and his work (first edition) contains a very valuable list of names, chiefly collected by Dr. Eli Smith. Dr. Robinson, starting with the broad canon ‘that all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the sacred places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine is of no value, except so far as it is supported by circumstances known to us from Scripture, or from other contemporary history,’ was the first (except the German book-seller Korte, of the eighteenth century) to impugn the accuracy of the traditional sites. We shall not go into the question here of his theories, and his reconstruction of the old city, on which he has had both followers and opponents. Let it, however, be distinctly remembered that Dr. Robinson is the *first* of scientific travelers. His travels took him over a very large extent of ground, covering a large part of the whole country from Sinai north, and his books are still, after thirty years, the most valuable works which we possess on the geography of Palestine.”<sup>1</sup>

This tribute, from so high a source, so ingenuously bestowed, requires no addition from us, except to say that it is re-echoed, in grateful expression, by biblical scholars and especially by oriental travelers of all nations.

It may truly be said that one discovery of Dr. Robinson, that of the arch over the Tyropean valley, has done more to stimulate and promote exploration in the city of Jerusalem than any other before or since. It furnished the starting-point, the *πῶς στῶ*, for a definite system of topographical research. The interest awakened by it, the discussions growing out of it, the laborious researches instituted by the

<sup>1</sup> *Our Work in Palestine*. Issued by the Committee. London, 1873.

London Society, which have resulted in substantially confirming his conjectures, form no inconsiderable part of the history which Palestine exploration has made, up to the present time.

While a deserved meed of praise is thus gratefully accorded, on both continents, to this eminent American scholar for his pioneer labors in scientific exploration, there is another name which ought to be remembered in close connection with his. On the title page of both the earlier and later researches of Dr. Robinson, Eli Smith, D. D., missionary of the American Board at Beirut, appears as the joint author. Dr. Smith was the companion of all his travels and the interpreter for all his intercourse with the native population. His long residence in the country, his scholarly familiarity with the Arabic tongue and its cognate dialects, and his intelligent sympathy with Dr. Robinson in the work of exploration, rendered his presence well-nigh indispensable to any such result as the expedition was enabled to accomplish.

It would seem as if, under so illustrious a leadership, American scholars should have taken the foremost place as explorers of Bible lands; and it is but fair to say that much good work has been done by Americans during the last half century. It was apparently through the inspiration of Dr. Robinson's earlier researches that Lieutenants Lynch and Dale, of the United States navy, conceived the idea of a scientific exploration of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Before sailing, in November, 1847, to join the squadron in the Mediterranean, they conferred with Dr. Robinson respecting the remarkable phenomena connected with the depression of the Jordan valley.<sup>1</sup> Having obtained permission of the government, a United States exploring expedition was organized, with Lieut. W. F. Lynch at its head. In April, 1848, the party descended the Jordan in metal boats, one of iron and one of copper, and their reports furnish the first trustworthy data respecting the physical conformation of the Dead Sea and its exact elevation, or rather depression, below the level of the Mediterranean. The expedition had a melancholy outcome, on account of the death of Lieut. Dale, who succumbed to nervous fever, the result of fatigue and exposure, and was buried at Beirut. He was a fine young officer and an experienced engineer.<sup>2</sup> The volume which Lieut. Lynch published was regarded in Great Britain as "one of the most valuable contributions to geographical science which had been made for years, conferring honor upon the American government, and especially upon the officers and men who carried the enterprise through in the face of such appalling difficulties."<sup>3</sup> The book went through six editions in the first year, with an aggregate sale of 11,000 copies.<sup>4</sup>

One of the earliest careful explorations of the source of the Jordan, the report of which is described by Dr. Robinson as "the first good account that we possess"<sup>5</sup> was made in 1844 by Rev. W. M. Thomson, then a missionary of the American Board in Syria, and ever since recognized as standing in the front rank among Palestine explorers. Possessing exceptional advantages of position as a permanent resident in the country, and being perfectly familiar with the tongue and the people, a thorough scholar, not only in theological but in physical science, trained to careful habits of observation, and inspired with a real enthusiasm for antiquarian and especially biblical research, Dr. Thomson seems to have been providen-

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac., vol. II., p. 397. <sup>2</sup> Bib. Sac., V., 769. <sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac., vol. VI., p. 803. <sup>4</sup> Bib. Sac., VII., 393. <sup>5</sup> Bib. Sac., III., 207.

tially commissioned to do a great and valuable work for the elucidation of scriptural truth. As long ago as 1859, it was truly said<sup>1</sup> that "if the Syrian mission had produced no other fruit" than "The Land and the Book" (a first edition of which was then just issued), "the churches which have supported that mission would have received an ample return for all the money they have expended."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thomson was one of the companions of Dr. Robinson during a part of his later researches, and ever after was his correspondent in matters pertaining to Palestine, contributing many valuable facts to the pages of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, of which Dr. Robinson was the founder and for fourteen years an associate editor.

Nor are Drs. Smith and Thomson the only American missionaries who have made valuable contributions to the literature of the subject. In 1869 the Rev. Thomas Laurie prepared and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, a scholarly and valuable description of Mount Lebanon, its physical geography, productions, people and antiquities; and, a few years later, the Rev. Henry J. von Lennepe, D.D., published a goodly volume containing one of the most extended and comprehensive treatises on the customs, habits, and social life of the inhabitants of Palestine which has yet appeared. It is entitled "Bible Lands: their modern customs and manners, illustrative of Scripture." It has over three hundred illustrations.<sup>3</sup>

Nor must we forget that it was an American missionary to the Jews of Palestine, to whom we are indebted for one of the earliest and most trustworthy descriptions of the Holy City, and for several valuable discoveries in connection with it. Dr. J. T. Barclay took up his abode in Jerusalem in February, 1851, a little over a year previous to Dr. Robinson's second visit, and remained there for three and a half years. "He was an enthusiastic explorer and an acute, and, in the main, accurate observer."<sup>4</sup> His "City of the Great King" was in its time one of the most valuable contributions to the topography of Jerusalem, on either continent. His discovery of the great quarry under Bezetha is scarcely second in importance to any which has since been made in underground Jerusalem. His minor discoveries, identifications and conjectures stood the test of time better than the average, and are, on the whole, remarkable, considering the material then at his disposal. Those who now contend for the honor of having first suggested a northern site for Golgotha, may take interest in being reminded that Dr. Barclay suffered some obloquy for having propounded such a theory more than thirty years ago. Although he did not select the precise spot which is now favored by many, his statement of reasons, both negative and positive, is in the main exhaustive and quite well suited to fit the hypothesis now presented.

In the early part of 1871, a society was organized in New York city, entitled the "Palestine Exploration Society," which was designed to co-operate with the "Palestine Exploration Fund," of London. Of this society, Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D., was made president, and Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D., LL. D., secretary. An advisory committee was appointed in Syria, consisting of Dr. W. M. Thomson and other missionaries at Beirut, and the consul at Beirut, and at Alexandria, Egypt. An agreement was entered into with the London

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac., XVI., 438.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wm. S. Tyler, D. D., LL. D., Bib. Sac., XVI., 438.

<sup>3</sup> New York, 1875.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. J. P. Thomson in Bib. Sac., XVI., 448.

Society that the country east of the Jordan should be reserved as the special field of the American explorers. "For the first year of its existence (1871) the society was looking for engineers and competent men to explore and map the country east of the Jordan. In the summer of 1872, Lieut. Steever, of the United States army, was put in command, and in March, 1873, the expedition took the field." ("Second statement.") Two persons only were sent from America, viz., Lieut. Edgar Z. Steever, Jr., a recent graduate of West Point, and Prof. John A. Paine, formerly of Robert College, Constantinople, who was to serve as archæologist and naturalist of the expedition. They sailed from America in September, 1872, and arrived at Beirut, Syria, January 6, 1873. At Beirut they were joined by Rev. A. A. Haines, of Hamburg, N. J., as first-assistant engineer, and Wm. G. Ballantine, A. B., of Indiana, as second-assistant engineer, with five native assistants. The report of Lieut. Steever, entitled "Our first year in the field," was published in the "Second Statement" the society issued September, 1873. The expedition had surveyed trigonometrically, on the scale of one inch to the mile, nearly the entire district from Ammon south to the Arnon, or Moab proper, an area of over 500 square miles.

The "Second Statement" also contains an account of discoveries at Nahr-el-Kelb, made by Professor Paine, consisting of three Greek inscriptions, one on a stone in a Roman wall, and two cut in rock; a paper by Wm. Hays Ward, D. D., LL. D., on "The Hamath Inscriptions," and a description of "Husn Sulayman," a magnificent ruin, by the Rev. Samuel Jessup, American missionary.

In January, 1875, a "Third Statement" was published, consisting of 140 pages, made up entirely of these articles, by Professor Paine, viz., the "Identification of Mount Pisgah," "Plants collected in Eastern Palestine," and "An Index of Arabic Names."

Professor Paine has ever since devoted himself to studies connected with biblical geography, and has contributed many articles to the biblical research column of the *Independent*, as well as to the *Sunday School Times*, *Evangelist*, *Examiner*, *Watchman*, and to the London *Athenæum* and *Academy*. Some discussions of this subject he has also published in the *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, of which he is the conductor. He has gathered around him a large collection of aids for the study of biblical geography, and performed much labor, the fruit of which, it is hoped, may yet be given to the public.

A second expedition was afterward started, under command of Col. J. C. Lane, and the preliminary reconnaissance was reported and published in the "Fourth Statement." For some reason the full survey was never carried into effect, and Colonel Lane shortly after returned to this country. Some fruits of his observations were, however, reported in writing and handed over to the London Society, to be used by them in their future explorations.

The Rev. Selah Merrill, D. D., LL. D., was the archæologist for this second expedition. His report occupies seventy-one pages of the "Fourth Statement." He remained two entire years (1875-77) in the country engaged in exploration. During this period he prepared and has since published two books which will have a permanent value in biblical literature. One is a description of "Galilee in the Time of Christ," in which several popular errors respecting the natural features and the political importance of that province are corrected. The other is a "Record of travel and observation in the countries of Moab, Gilead and Bashan during the years 1875-77," and is entitled "East of the Jordan." He has also written

many letters to American and English journals, especially the New York *Independent* and the London *Athenæum*, containing the results of his observations. His contributions to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and to the "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund of London, would fill quite a volume. Shortly after the close of his engagement in the service of the Exploration Society, Dr. Merrill was appointed United States consul at Jerusalem and took up his residence there. In this position he has enjoyed, for several years, exceptional advantages for observation, especially in matters relating to the Holy City. He has also been able to contribute much valuable advice and assistance to other American and English travelers and explorers, while pursuing their investigations in the Holy Land.

Dr. Merrill has recently returned to America, bringing with him,—besides an added store of experience and observation,—a large collection of tangible objects, relics, photographs, mementos and specimens, including the largest collection of birds and animals probably ever made, which might form the nucleus of a fine museum of sacred antiquities and biblical illustration. Such a museum might be made exceedingly useful to Bible-students in this country.

The idea of a biblical museum was conceived of several years ago. In 1869, a society was organized by Robert Morris, LL. D., of LaGrange, Ky., entitled the "Scholars' Holy Land Exploration." Its objects were—(1) The collection and distribution of reliable specimens from the Holy Land; (2) the delivery of popular lectures upon subjects of scriptural research; (3) the publication of tracts and magazines, and the translation of valuable works; and (4) the organization of expeditions to the Holy Land. In 1871 this society claimed to have a membership of over eight hundred, embracing many eminent names. A magazine was started entitled *Holy Land*, the first number of which, in January, 1871, contained articles on "The Geology of the Holy Land," by Prof. Richard Owen, LL. D., of the University of Indiana, and on "The Crusades," by Prof. H. H. Fairall, of Decorah, Iowa. The Secretary of the Society, Dr. Morris, had brought from Palestine a large collection of objects,—coins, shells, minerals, seeds and relics,—and arranged a plan for delivering them to Sabbath-schools in little cabinets, with descriptive labels. Most of them were stored in the office of the Treasurer, Col. H. J. Goodrich, of Chicago, and were destroyed in the great fire of October 9, '71. This, and other circumstances, seem to have discouraged the directors of the Society, and a few years later its active operations were discontinued.

Besides these fruits of organized effort in Palestine exploration, there have been many contributions to the subject from individual travelers. Probably no nation sends so large a delegation of intelligent visitors to the East as our own. When Captain (now Sir Charles) Warren was in charge of the explorations at Jerusalem, he was quite impressed with the interest taken in them by Americans. He says, in "Underground Jerusalem," p. 93: "I must admit that the manner in which many of the Americans were well grounded in Palestine topography surprised me; they accounted for it by telling me that their clergy make a point of explaining and describing it from the pulpit frequently. Besides this, many of their ministers are sent to Palestine by their congregations, in order that they may refresh their minds, and take in a fresh stock of biblical lore; in return for this, they send home a letter each fortnight, describing their wanderings, to be read in their churches."

Perhaps we had better receive this compliment to American congregations in

grateful silence, affording, as it does, a suggestive hint of what, at all events, might and ought to be the truth. But the fact remains that a very large number of Americans have published accounts of their observations in Palestine, too large to be separately mentioned here. In a subsequent number of this journal, an attempt will be made to give a bibliographical list, embracing books and review-articles by Americans, on subjects connected with biblical research, as well as to complete our account of American explorers by noticing what our countrymen have done to help the work in Egypt and Assyria.

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## THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

BY PROF. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D. D.,  
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### MARCH 13. JACOB AT BETHEL. Gen. XXVIII. 10-22.

Is this narrative repeated in Gen. xxxv. with such contradictions as to prove that one or both are legendary and untrue? This narrative seems to affirm that Jacob, at the time of the incident recorded, called the name of the place Bethel; and this view of the case is taken in Gen. xxxi. 13 and xxxv. 1, 8, where the place is called Bethel, not by the writer, but by God, or by Jacob, speaking at a particular date. On the occasion of the incident, also, this narrative says that Jacob set up one of the stones of the place as a memorial-pillar, and anointed it. Is it a thing too absurd for belief that many years later, after passing through great changes, keeping still in mind the spiritual experiences he had here felt, he should have deliberately returned to the place, offering solemn worship here, renewing the name Bethel, and again setting up and anointing a memorial-pillar of stone? See Gen. xxxv. 7, 14, 15. To me it seems not at all absurd, but something very true to experience. I find, therefore, no reason for denying the historicity of either account, and thus far, none for assigning the two accounts to different sources of information, and certainly none for regarding the 'odh, xxxv. 9, as a lame attempt, by an editor, to harmonize two conflicting stories.

It is the *place* that is called Bethel, in each account, and not necessarily the neighboring city; that continued to be known as Luz, till after Joshua's time, when a fugitive from it built the Luz in the land of the Hittites, Judg. i. 22-26. In the circumstances, the city may very likely have been known by both names. From Gen. xxviii. 19 and xxxv. 6 (but compare xlviii. 3), it may be plausibly conjectured (not inferred, properly speaking) that the accounts were written in their present form after the fall of the Canaanite Luz, and the building of the other,—within the life-time of the public men who were associated with Moses.

Formerly it was held that Jacob's six years of service with Laban for cattle followed immediately after his fourteen years of service for his two wives, and that he was therefore about seventy-six years old, when he left Isaac; but this involves, by necessary inference, quite a list of absurdities. It is for the interest of men who wish to prove Genesis to be unhistorical to insist upon this interpretation, but it cannot fairly be maintained. Many now teach that an interval of twenty years occurred between the two terms of Jacob's service, and that he was therefore fifty-six years old at leaving Beer-sheba. I know of no solid foundation